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# PEACE NEWS

FOR NON-VIOLENCE AND UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT

No. 1,288

London, March 3, 1961

SIXPENCE

US Air Express  
Edition 10 cents

# SEND PROTEUS BACK HOME

**IT IS PERFECTLY OBVIOUS THAT SCOTLAND—AND INDEED THE WHOLE WORLD—WOULD BE MUCH SAFER IF THE PROTEUS AND ALL POLARIS SUBMARINES QUIETLY SANK WITHOUT TRACE, TAKING THEIR DEADLY NUCLEAR MISSILES DOWN WITH THEM.**

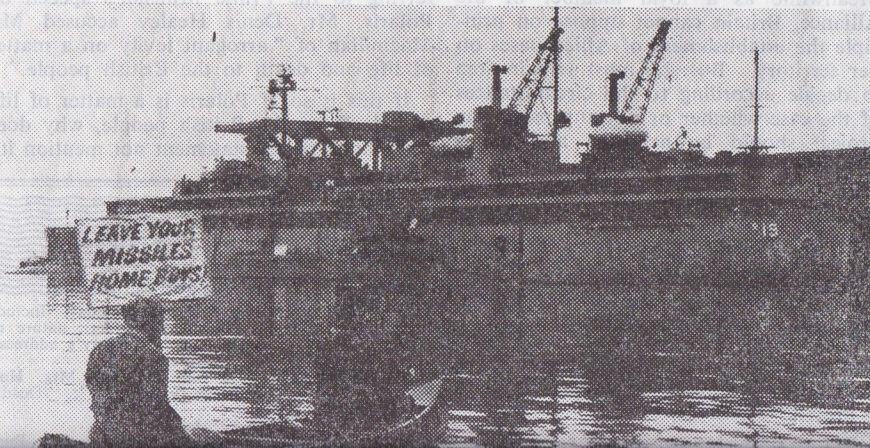
## Last U.S. attempt to stop sailing

From G. S. CHRISTIANSEN

New London

ON Tuesday of last week, at about 2 p.m., the Proteus sailed from New London, Connecticut, for Scotland. The Committee for Non-violent Action's demonstration was hampered by fog, rain, cold, the secrecy of the US Navy, and earlier "losses" in their non-violent protest resources.

At our first demonstration on January 28 our two most versatile civilly disobedient members, Don Martin and Bill Henry, as well as 60 per cent of our fleet (the dinghy Leo Tolstoy, the rowboat World Citizen, and the raft Bertrand Russell) were cap-



Perfectly obvious, that is, to everyone who is not conditioned by balances of power which never balance and arms races which always end in senseless slaughter.

The submarines, however, will not be spirited away. It is only by massive and sustained protest that the monstrous work arranged for the base at the Holy Loch can be terminated, the Polaris agreement reversed, and the whole fabric of the Cold War challenged.

Or as *The Times'* Washington correspondent put it last week: "A reversal at this stage would have encouraged militant neutralists all over the world to campaign against bases, and would have brought about considerable disillusionment here."

The second factor, *The Times'* man continued, why the decision to send the



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At our first demonstration on January 28 our two most versatile civilly disobedient members, Don Martin and Bill Henry, as well as 60 per cent of our fleet (the dinghy Leo Tolstoy, the rowboat World Citizen, and the raft Bertrand Russell) were captured. Don is still in Federal prison, Bill is still at large and helping manfully, but is restricted by his promise to violate no laws concerning naval vessels.

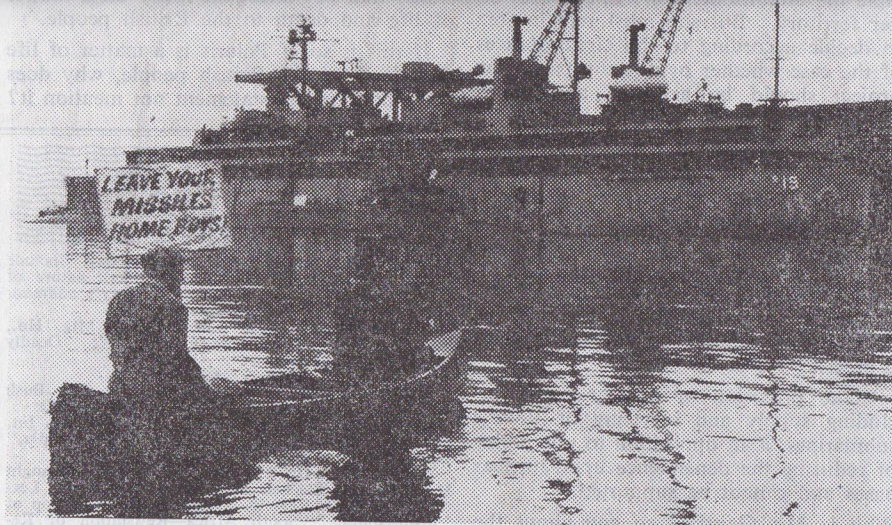
On Friday, February 17, our best information, which later proved erroneous, was that the Proteus would sail on the Sunday. Plans were made for a continuous water vigil starting Saturday morning, and daylight picketing on the access road to the State Pier at which the Proteus was tied. Ed Guerard and Susan Hoffman (Susan is just back from walking the first 1,000 miles of the San Francisco to Moscow walk) agreed to attempt civil disobedience in blocking the sailing of the Proteus.

★

At 8.30 on the Saturday night the Navy captured the row boat Henry David Thoreau while it was keeping vigil afloat. Bob Swann and Harry Purvis, its crew, were released. We decided to commit our last remaining boat, the canoe Ahimsa, but to avoid situations where the Navy could capture it prematurely, and to begin work hastily on another raft.

Sea and land vigils were maintained all day Sunday and most of Sunday night. On Monday Ed Guerard worked on the new raft while others continued the vigils. At first the new craft was to be named Bertrand Russell II. However, my own argument was that this is a new type, clearly intended for repeated, if not mass, production. It was finally agreed that it should be called Everyman.

At 2 p.m. on Tuesday very suddenly the George Washington pulled away from the side of the Proteus, and the Proteus steamed out into the estuary. The canoe Ahimsa



The depot-ship Proteus, with the Polaris submarine George Washington alongside, just before they sailed from New London, Connecticut. Demonstrators in the canoe were keeping a water vigil. See story, left.

## LABOUR'S NEW POLICY STATEMENT

# Why no mention of Polaris, Mr. Gaitskell?

THE Parliamentary Labour Party is regarded by Mr. Gaitskell—very much as Mr. Balfour is said to have regarded the House of Lords—as his pet poodle.

There, for the time being, he has a comfortable majority which he can rely upon to swallow all his recommendations and whose members can be relied upon to shout "vote, vote" when he thinks it advisable that a discussion should be ended.

So as everybody expected, the latest policy statement approved of by Mr. Gaitskell was carried by a comfortable majority after about three hours' discussion when quite a considerable number of members wanted to speak. These are now the familiar mechanics of the Parliamentary Labour Party.

Great play was made at the Scarborough Conference that the Parliamentary Labour Party was in favour of the Gaitskell line, and Mr. Gaitskell himself paid an eloquent tribute to the supreme wisdom of the Parliamentary Party.

But does the Parliamentary Labour Party give these policy statements the attention

they deserve? Hardly, for the figures of the voting show that usually only half the Parliamentary Labour Party turns up. The statements are rushed through after one short session and they are never referred for detailed consideration to the Defence Committee or its sub-committees which usually meet to consider the annual Navy, Army and Air Force Estimates.

In fact, the Parliamentary Labour Party spends less time considering these policy

The submarines, however, will not be spirited away. It is only by massive and sustained protest that the monstrous work arranged for the base at the Holy Loch can be terminated, the Polaris agreement reversed, and the whole fabric of the Cold War challenged.

Or as *The Times*' Washington correspondent put it last week: "A reversal at this stage would have encouraged militant neutralists all over the world to campaign against bases, and would have brought about considerable disillusionment here."

The second factor, *The Times*' man continued, why the decision to send the Proteus to Scotland was confirmed, "is that the entire missile programme is being accelerated . . ."

A Proteus sent home would, in fact, help to break down the myth that the world is neatly divided into devils and angels—and that the reasonable way to meet this situation is to prepare for a nuclear war that would obliterate our civilisation.

policy statement than the Leeds City Council does to a proposal for a new slaughter house.

So the rank and file should not assume that because the Parliamentary Party, with a considerable number of members missing, has approved the latest Gaitskell policy, that this is a sound reason why they should swallow it too. There is every reason why the rank and file should examine it very carefully and with the attention that it

## ... asks EMRYS HUGHES, MP

statements than the big unions such as the AEU or the Transport & General Workers or the National Union of Mineworkers.

So it is a mistake to think that the Parliamentary Labour Party devotes more detailed attention to Defence policy statements than, say, the TUC or the National Executive of the Labour Party or even probably than some of the more alert constituency Labour Parties. Indeed, it would be true to say that the Parliamentary Labour Party devotes far less attention to detailed consideration of a new Defence

deserves. Especially when we are told it was drafted by Mr. Denis Healey, who was one of the most prominent exponents of the proposal for German rearmament when the Labour Party approved that policy some time ago.

Now the new Defence Policy is interesting, not only for what it contains, as for what it omits. Why, for example, does it omit any direct reference to the agreement to place a Polaris submarine base at the Holy Loch on the Clyde? Is the name

■ ON PAGE TWO

□ ON BACK PAGE



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## MEETING

**DIRECT ACTION** against Polaris: Canoeing practice for volunteers attempting to board Polaris submarine and depot ship. March 11, 12 and 19. For details contact Direct Action Committee, 344 Seven Sisters Road, N.4. Tel.: STA 7062.

**DORIS GRANT** and others speaking at a weekend conf. at Reculver Lodge, Bellingham, Herne Bay, March 10-12. Details: Sec., Nature Cure Clinic (PN), 13 Oldbury Pl., W.1. WEE 2787.

**FRIENDS AND THE INNER LIGHT.** Speaker: Maurice A. Creasey. Sunday, March 5, 6.30 p.m. Friends House, Euston Road, N.W.1.

**RELAXATION—AND HOW TO ACHIEVE IT.** Margaret Kent. Monday, March 20, Caxton Hall, 7.30 p.m. 2s. 6d. London Natural Health Society meets third Monday each month. Details: 85 Stoneleigh Rd., Ilford.

**WHITE BRITONS AND COLOURED IMMIGRANTS.** Mrs. Judith Henderson, Conway Hall, Holborn, W.C.1. Tues., Mar. 7, 7.15 p.m. Discussion.

## HOLIDAY ACCOMMODATION

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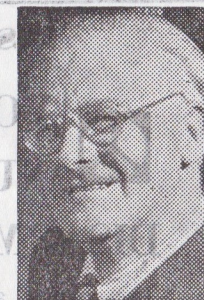
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**UNFURNISHED ACCOMMODATION** required for pacifist who is marrying this summer. Mod. rent in London area, pref. S.E. Any suggestions regarding decorations favourably considered. Box No. 879.

# Algeria: New hope of peace and independence

By Fenner Brockway, MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom



THE talks between President Bourguiba and President de Gaulle this week should open the way for peace and independence for Algeria.

One mustn't underestimate the difficulties. De Gaulle has critics in both France and Algeria. Bourguiba will have to carry with him some elements among the Algerians who do not relish any concessions.

## Assurances

Nevertheless, I believe the two Presidents will succeed. Not at once. Not without difficulties, but overcoming them. Before the end of the summer.

The Algerians will want assurances about the genuineness of the self-determination, the terms of its plebiscite and its control.

But I think after some bargaining they will be satisfied. De Gaulle's national pride will reject foreign supervision, even United Nations' supervision. But once he comes to terms with the Algerians about the object to be achieved they need not worry. For the first time the official French pressure will be exerted on their side.

This isn't only a matter of de Gaulle's personal pride. France needs peace. She cannot stand the strain of continued war, either financially or politically.

Nor will de Gaulle's other ambitions allow him to be bogged down in Algeria. He wants to play an important rôle in

European politics, in the strategy of the West. He can't do that whilst his army is tied up in Algeria, whilst Algeria dominates his political attention.

And French financiers, French industrialists are increasingly coming to see with de Gaulle that their hope lies in a friendly Algeria rather than an Algeria driven to antagonism. In this there is a warning.

French economic interests in Algeria are large at this moment and potentially they are vast. The financiers now see that the more favourable opportunity of exploiting them lies in a political settlement which will allow them to maintain economic privileges.

## Danger

I think we shall find that the Algerian leaders are alive to this danger. They may be ready to make concessions to secure political independence, because in the long run sovereignty is the decisive condition. But two of my colleagues, John Stonehouse and Leon Szur, delegates from the Movement for Colonial Freedom to the Mediterranean and Middle East Conference in Tunisia, have recently had long talks with Ferhat Abbas, the head of the Algerian Government in exile, and they were impressed by his major interest in the social future of Algeria. He is not thinking in terms of permitting it to remain a French economic colony.

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# EMRYS HUGHES

■ FROM PAGE ONE

Polaris is a disreputable, offensive, indecent seven-letter word unworthy to be mentioned in a Labour Party document, in case it will be censored by the Press Council?

The official policy statement says about American bases:

"It may well be that within a few years Western defence will not require America to have strategic bases overseas. Meanwhile as a loyal member of the Alliance, Britain cannot oppose on principle the establishment of Allied bases on her territory. But she must remain free to decide according to the circumstances of the case whether or not any particular project should be accepted and under what conditions."

There is nothing in this to indicate whether the Labour Party is officially to support the Polaris base or not. The issue is clouded with obscurity.

## Cousins' proposal

In comparison with this official statement, Mr. Cousins's proposal on Polaris is clear and precise. He says:

"The provision of nuclear bases in

mention Polaris? Why does Mr. Gaitskell not commend it to the rank and file?

Is it because he has realised the tremendous opposition to Polaris that has grown inside the Labour Party, especially in Scotland, where it has been denounced by the Scottish TUC and the Scottish Council of the Labour Party?

In the debate on the Queen's speech, referring to the Prime Minister's speech on Polaris, Mr. Denis Healey accused Mr. Macmillan of "arrogant levity on a matter of life and death to the British people."

If this is so, if Polaris is a matter of life and death to the British people, why does the official policy statement not mention it?

# DIARY

Send notices to arrive first post Monday. Include Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, March 3

**BIRMINGHAM:** 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bull St. Films: "Japanese Fishermen"; "Deadly the Harvest". CND.

Friday, March 3

**LONDON, E.11:** 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush

**Wednesday, March 8**  
**CHESTER:** 7.45 p.m. Town Hall (Assembly Rooms). Canon John L. Collins, Hugh Thomas. Chairman: A. B. Rowell. UNA. CND. Adm. free.

**EXETER:** 7.30 p.m. Civic Hall, Queen St. Canon John Collins, Sir Richard Acland: "Arms Race or Human Race?" Film: "Deadly the Harvest". CND.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 1.15-2 p.m. Friends Int. Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. "Reflections on the United Nations". Leslie Smith. SoF.

**ST. LEONARDS-ON-SEA:** 7.30 p.m. 71 Norman Rd. "Pacifist Fortnight Campaign", Eileen Fletcher. PPU.

Thursday, March 9

**LONDON, E.11:** 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush



cellent meals, relaxed informal evenings. (vegts. available), all comforts. Woodstock Guest House, Sea Palling (Hickling 236).

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#### LITERATURE

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**BERKSHIRE'S** only unilateralist local paper. "Reading Labour's Voice". Lively, provocative, uninhibited. 3d. monthly (5s. p.a. post free). From 56 Minster St., Reading.

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ciple the establishment of Allied bases on her territory. But she must remain free to decide according to the circumstances of the case whether or not any particular project should be accepted and under what conditions."

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### Cousins' proposal

In comparison with this official statement, Mr. Cousins's proposal on Polaris is clear and precise. He says:

"The provision of nuclear bases, including supply and servicing of Polaris submarines, is in opposition to our policy of reducing the dependence upon nuclear bases and cannot be supported."

Why is Mr. Gaitskell so coy about the mention of Polaris? Has he not declared himself as an enthusiastic supporter of it? Speaking at a conference at Manchester, reported in *The Times* (November 7, 1960), Mr. Gaitskell said that he regarded the Polaris weapon as

"more effective, less dangerous to the civil population, less likely to lead to war, more likely to preserve peace than any other nuclear weapons now available."

Why then does the official policy not

## PEACE NEWS

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#### Friday, March 3

**LONDON, E.11**: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Discuss arrangements Easter March. CND.

**LONDON, W.C.1**: 1.15-2 p.m. Friends Int. Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq., "Present Trends in India," Donald Groom. SoF.

**NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE**: 7.30 p.m. Connaught Hall, YMCA, Blackett St. Alex Wood Mem. Lecture, 1961. Rt. Rev. R. Ambrose Reeves, Bishop of Johannesburg: "South Africa—Revolution or Reconciliation?" For.

#### Friday, March 3—Sunday, March 5

**BATH**: Conference of the Fellowship of Friends of Truth "Creative Education" (pioneered by Dr. Muriel Payne). Donald Groom on Vinoba and Sarvodaya. Sessions free. Full board 30s. weekend. Details: Sec., 8 Fairhaven Rd., Bristol 6. Tel. 45515.

**OXFORD**: Weekend residential course: "Gandhi and the Future of Non-Violence" (£3 3s.). Details: Warden, Braziers Park, Ipsden.

#### Saturday, March 4

**BATH**: 2.30 p.m. Hill Haven, 29 Oldfield Rd. Michael Pernetta: "Creative Education". Fellowship Friends of Truth.

**CANVEY**: 10.30 a.m. "The Haystack", leafletting and poster parade, from 12 noon. Continuous Film Show (Labour Hall), 8 p.m. Meeting to form Canvey CND.

**NORTHAMPTON**: 3-6 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Wellington St., 3.15 p.m. Sybil Morrison: "New Found Cause." PPU.

**WEALDSTONE**: 7.30 p.m. Co-op. Hall, Masons Ave. Film Show. "Battle in Space"; "Murder by Neglect"; "Deadly the Harvest"; "A Village Re-born". Adm. 1s. Refreshments. CND.

#### Sunday, March 5

**BATH**: 2.30 p.m. Hill Haven, 29 Oldfield Rd. Donald Groom: "Vinoba Bhava". Fellowship Friends of Truth.

**LEEDS**: 2.30-7.45 p.m. Swarthmore Ed. Centre, 3, 4 Woodhouse Sq. Film Viewing Session. Tickets 5s. Buffet Tea, 2s. 6d.

**LONDON, W.1**: 2.45 p.m. Poster Parade commence Air St. (behind Swan & Edgar). Westminster CND.

#### Monday, March 6

**LONDON, W.2**: 7.45 p.m. 16 Westbourne Pk. Rd. "A Jewish Pacifist in Israel", Myrtle Solomon. PPU.

#### Tuesday, March 7

**EAST SHEEN**: 8 p.m. Vernon Hall, Vernon Rd. Myrtle Solomon. Group AGM. PPU.

**LONDON, N.W.1**: 8 p.m. 12 Downside Cres., Belsize Pk. Ronald Mallone, B.A.: "Why We Need the Fellowship Party" For.

**LONDON, S.W.6**: 8 p.m. Bishop Creighton Ho., 378 Lillie Rd., Fulham. "Christian Love and the Great Deterrent": Christopher Hollis, Rev. B. G. B. Fox, Dr. J. W. Boag, Canon E. F. Carpenter. Adm. free. Fulham and Christian CND Groups.

**LONDON, W.C.1**: 7.15 p.m. Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq. "White Britons and Coloured Immigrants—Prejudice or Antipathy?": Mrs. Judith Henderson. South Place Ethical Soc.

**LONDON, N.W.3**: 7.30 p.m. Small Town Hall, Haverstock Hill. Aldermaston briefing mtg. and film show: "Beware!" "Deadly the Harvest" and "Brotherhood of Man". CND.

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This recruiting photo for the Easter marches is being distributed as a double postcard by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament to any isolated supporter.

★

He cuts it neatly in two and sends the left side to a potential supporter. Cards are 4d. each, 25s. a 100, from London Region, 5 Caledonian Rd., N.1.



## San Francisco to Moscow walk

# 2,000 MILES—STILL GOING STRONG

THE Transcontinental Peace Walkers, with nearly 2,000 miles behind them, are in Kansas. They entered the State ten days ago, and gave their feet a rest last Saturday by standing still, protesting against Titan missiles at Wichita.

Activities during the two weeks the walkers spend in Kansas include a vigil at an Air Force base, picketing at the Boeing Airplane Co., and public meetings. A spokesman reported that the feet of three

of the walkers are feeling the strain of the 2,000 miles from San Francisco, but the others have maintained the 25-mile-a-day grind without ill effects.

During the walk through the Texas Panhandle, Jerry Lehmann reports, the walkers encountered mild brushes with the police who quoted against them a local ordinance prohibiting the distributing of leaflets. The walkers advised the police chief of Pampa that the group was anxious to maintain good relations with local authorities, but could not do so at the expense of constitutional rights or at the expense of the integrity of the walk.

## Publicity

The walkers have received publicity from radio stations and newspapers in Bovina, Friona, Hereford, Canyon, Amarillo, Pampa, Miami and Canadian. They enjoyed opportunities of addressing Metho-

dist, Baptist, and other church groups, and a scheduled half-hour meeting at West Texas State College lasted three hours.

The 6,500-mile walk from San Francisco to Moscow, sponsored by the Committee for Non-violent Action, expects to enter the State of Missouri next Thursday. After that, says the Committee, the walkers hope to be in Chicago (Illinois) at Easter, and thence through Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware, New Jersey, and New York. They plan to leave early in June for London and walk the 2,500 miles to Moscow by Autumn.

In the meantime, a story written by the United Press International appeared in the *El Paso Times-Herald* complaining that FBI agents have been preceding the walkers asking ministers, newsmen and others not to support or publicise the walk.

## 14-point proposal for disarmament

PROPOSALS for the founding of a movement for "total national disarmament and positive peace-making" are being put forward in a pamphlet published by the Toldas Group. The proposals will be discussed at a confer-

tions and pacts, and work out non-military relations with UN and former allies

By Sybil Morrison

# NEVER TO-DAY

*Jam to-morrow, and jam yesterday, but never jam to-day.*—ALICE THROUGH THE LOOKING GLASS. Lewis Carroll

"WHAT would you do about the Congo?" is a question pacifists are asked and expected to answer. If they answer, rightly, that there is no pacifist blue-print for solving a problem based upon a violent struggle for power, that they cannot find a solution for a quarrel irrevocably backed by armaments and indeed brought about largely through reliance upon those armaments, the chances are that this answer will be dismissed as an evasion.

If they answer that someone, or some nation, "above the battle" should endeavour to mediate, should come, as it were, between the combatants to persuade them to talk together and meantime to call a truce, the chances are that this proposal will be dismissed as "impossible in the present situation."

★ It will be said that there might have been a time for that, but not now; the tribes involved are not pacifists and the nations engaged in the "cold war" are not pacifists, so if a solution is to be found it must be found within the framework of the contemporary event.

It may even be said that of course reconciliation and the abandonment of arms is the proper and idealistic course, and no doubt the day will come when such a solution might be practicable, but not to-day. The safety of their nationals must first of all be secured and then the true way of reconciliation can be pursued. In other words, do the wrong thing first and then try out the right one.

It is significant that after the First World War, when the anti-war feeling was very strong, the League of Nations Covenant included the conception of "collective security" as the basis for future peace, and that after the Second World War the United Nations also introduced the word "security" when it set up the Security Council to make decisions in regard to con-

## CONTRASTS

THOSE who from choice or necessity get up early are realising that winter is passing. The contrast between the light in the early mornings now and a month ago is quite cheering.

Though much has been wrong in British colonial rule, the attempts which British Governments have made to prepare colonial peoples for independence are in marked contrast to what happened in the Congo, from which there are many lessons still to be learnt.







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The demonstration on Sunday, February 19, outside the Belgian Embassy as a protest at the events in the Congo and in particular the violent death of Mr. Lumumba, was in marked contrast with the sit-down demonstration of the previous day in protest at the establishment of Polaris bases in Britain.

The need for continued thought about the application of the method of non-violence and still more, a deeper commitment to the principles of non-violence, becomes increasingly obvious. The hope that the works of darkness will be banished by the spread of love and truth abides and grows. The more the general public are aware of the inevitability of the tragedy which follows violence and of the inherent power in non-violence to reform all relationships once the evil of war and violence has been renounced, the sooner they will be prepared to surrender their traditional belief in violence. You can help to do this through the Pacifist Fort-night Campaign.

But there is also a contrast between what you give in time and energy and money to leisure, however desirable, or even to other causes, however good, and what you devote to the basic cause of pacifism? If so, you can help to put that right by giving all possible active support to the Pacifist Fort-night Campaign and by sending your contribution this week to the Peace Pledge Union's Headquarters Fund.

STUART MORRIS,

General Secretary.

Our increased aim for 1961: £1,750.

Our total to date: £89.

An increase since last time of £14.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

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# 14-point proposal for disarmament

PROPOSALS for the founding of a movement for "total national disarmament and positive peace-making" published by the Toldas Group. The event to be held at Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1, on Saturday, March 25, at 2.30 p.m.

"The proposed movement," the pamphlet emphasises, "would not in fact increase the number of peace movements because the Toldas Group, and perhaps some other groups, would merge into it. . . . We believe Britain should lead in a new initiative based on total unilateral disarmament and constructive peace-making."

"The kind of initiative we envisage constitutes a coherent, positive, and distinctive peace policy. The time is ripe for a new campaign to build up an electoral mandate for this policy. The issue is important enough to require a national movement devoted solely to it, and not tied to the question of individual pacifism."

## DISARM

The pamphlet suggests that the new movement should be jointly sponsored by individuals and organisations supporting or sympathetic to its purpose; that it should co-operate closely with such organisations, and that membership should be open to all who believe that Britain, after suitable preparation, should disarm completely without waiting for other nations to disarm.

By way of illustration (not as definitive proposals) fourteen points are suggested by which a change of national policy might be worked out in practice, assuming that at some future date a British Government will be returned with a mandate for disarmament:

1. Stop all preparations for chemical, biological, and nuclear warfare, and divert the resources to the relief of human need.
2. End all espionage activities, and divert the resources to UNESCO or some such institution.
3. Give notice of withdrawal, on a stated time scale, from all military obliga-

movement for "total national disarmament" are being put forward in a pamphlet proposals will be discussed at a confer-

tions and pacts, and work out non-military relations with UN and former allies.

4. Approach international disarmament negotiations with a willingness to accept any plan for general disarmament, but announce Britain's intention to disarm completely, whether other nations do or not.

5. Enter into closest possible relations and understanding with the uncommitted nations, and help strengthen their influence at UN.

## STUDY

6. Create new government departments charged with studying international problems and promoting peace.

7. Make preparation for non-violent defence.

8. Destroy all nuclear weapons, and divert fissile material to peaceful uses.

9. After due preparation, disarm rapidly, deploying labour and resources according to plan. Dissolve the military ministries.

10. Establish an unarmed peace brigade for rescue, relief, and reconstruction work anywhere in the world.

11. End the industry of and trade in weapons and their related equipment, diverting industry to peaceful purposes.

## HELP

12. Contribute capital and technical help for under-developed countries, preferably through UN agencies.

13. Seek out and strive to remove particular causes of conflict between nations, making concessions and sacrifices where necessary.

14. Help any remaining colonial territories to democratic self-government, giving moral, and where possible, economic support towards the acceptance of civil rights throughout the Commonwealth.

conciliation, the abandonment of arms is the proper and idealistic course, and no doubt the day will come when such a solution might be practicable, but not to-day. The safety of their nationals must first of all be secured and then the true way of reconciliation can be pursued. In other words, do the wrong thing first and then try out the right one.

It is significant that after the First World War, when the anti-war feeling was very strong, the League of Nations Covenant included the conception of "collective security" as the basis for future peace, and that after the Second World War the United Nations also introduced the word "security" when it set up the Security Council to make decisions in regard to conflicts and disputes that might lead to war.



Yet both these conceptions of security were based upon the one factor that made security from war impossible—reliance upon armaments. The underlying idea of "collective security" was that enough nations should be prepared to challenge "an aggressor" with the threat of united and overwhelming military force. The idea behind the Security Council is that the main nations represented on it should be the strong military powers, since responsibility for the insecurity of the world lies at their door.

The definition as to who is the aggressor and what constitutes aggression is still not clarified, and in the case of Korea was obviously not based upon facts, but upon favouritism.

So long as the peoples of the world continue to be indoctrinated with the idea that preparation for war is essential to their security, the difficulty of persuading them to recognise their insecurity and to try some other way will be the worst of all obstacles. Even the most tolerant of non-pacifists incline to say that "some day" this will be the way, but "not now."

Yet it is the truth (and it is no less a truth because it is an ancient one) that only good can prevail over evil, and to continue with the evil in the hope of a convenient moment for altering it, is in fact to yield to the evil.

It is indeed an Alice-Through-the-Looking-Glass world that says "never today" to all proposals for a basic change of heart, for it is the heart that must be changed, and it is right that pacifists should answer the challenge by telling the truth, which is that pacifism cannot be imposed but must be accepted. Clearly this can only be done by argument, persuasion and example; and moreover to-morrow will not do; it must be to-day, here and now, and at every opportunity.



# The gradualness of inevitability

WHICHEVER way you look at it, this week's Defence debate in the Commons was a big disappointment. The unilateralists in the Parliamentary Labour Party, along with the NATO wing, voted for an amendment expressing "no confidence" that the Government's policy "will provide effectively for the defence of Britain".

This ensured that in the voting the crucial division in the Commons—down the middle of the Labour Party—was hidden behind Labour-Tory differences on which way to prepare for World War III.

This concealment could well turn out to have been a vital failure. If the minority in the Parliamentary Party have been unable to strengthen their position in the Commons this year, while they have their conference behind them, they can be quite sure that their position will be made much weaker if the conference decision is reversed. The unilateralists at Westminster have missed a great opportunity.

There is an assumption abroad that the Labour movement—and with it the Parliamentary Labour Party—will gradually go unilateralist. This is the way the situation is developing, so the argument goes, and the critical condition of the world will ensure that the process

continues and the movement will gradually slide into a new policy.

After this week's debate the argument looks more incredible than ever. It has two essential weaknesses. The first is the belief that the struggle in the movement can be won by the unilateralists without a sharp division in which the NATO wing will have to be squarely faced and routed.

The Second is that the desperate seriousness of the situation doesn't allow for this sort of almost leisurely time-table. It will take several years for a unilateralist Labour Party to form a Government; and at the present rate it will take an age even to produce first the necessary unilateralist Parliamentary Party. When people say quite seriously that the *only* way forward is in the Labour Party—an extremely narrow and formal view of politics, incidentally—we have to wonder how far ahead they are looking.

Meanwhile Mr. Watkinson has lined up with the Young Tories' conference of last weekend in ridiculing and abusing the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. This is significant, because the Tories have previously been able to leave it to the Gaitskell wing of the Labour Party to do this for them.

Those who browbeat the Campaign are the great conservative forces in the country, and it may be that the Tories no longer

consider Mr. Gaitskell and his colleagues strong enough to do this effectively.

Mr. Watkinson's suggestion that the Committee of 100 should consider "squatting in Red Square instead of outside my Ministry" is interesting. He would be a useful sponsor for the current march from San Francisco to Moscow if he hadn't hopelessly compromised his position by supporting a military policy similar to Russia's.

## BIG BROTHER

THE United States Supreme Court on Monday again passed by an opportunity to curb the wide powers and extraordinary activities of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, which—as even *The Times* knows—"wages a ceaseless and well publicised war on almost anything that it chooses to regard as Communist activity in the United States."

The Court rejected an appeal against a conviction for contempt by Mr. Frank Wilkinson, of Los Angeles, who in 1948 refused to tell the Committee whether he was a Communist. Unlike many in his position he invoked not the Fifth Amendment, giving protection against self-incrimination, but the First Amendment, guaranteeing free speech.

When the questioning started, he said, "As a matter of conscience and personal re-

## NEW POLITICS

by

Christopher

Farley

sponsibility I refused to answer any questions of this Committee." When charged with contempt he argued that the Committee did not have a legislative purpose in calling him, but rather had the "unlawful purpose" of harassing or exposing him. He was sentenced to one year in jail, which he now has to serve.

The Supreme Court was divided five to four, and among dissenting opinions the most notable was that of Justice Black, who said:

"In my view the conclusion is inescapable that the only real limitation upon the Committee's power to harass its opponents is the Committee's own self-restraint, a characteristic which probably has not been predominant in the Committee's work over the past few years.

"The result of all this is that from now on anyone who takes a public position contrary to that being urged by the House Un-American Activities Committee should realise that he runs the risk of being subpoenaed to appear at a hearing in some far-off place, of being questioned with regard to every minute of his past life, of being asked to repeat all the gossip he may have heard about any of his friends and acquaintances, of being accused by the Committee of membership in the Communist Party, of being held up to the public as a subversive and traitor, of being jailed for contempt if he refuses to co-operate with the Committee in its probe of his mind and associations, and of being branded by his neighbours, employer, and erstwhile friends as a menace to society regardless of the outcome of the hearing."

The case is a timely reminder of the Big

## Credit for West Germany

ANTI-SEMITISM in West Germany was studied by ten members of the Jewish organisation Bnai Brith last year. Their report credits the West German authorities with putting their support on the side of democracy against anti-Semitism, and West German press, radio, television, and films for contributing to the enlightenment of the Federal Republic in this respect.

But the investigators considered that anti-Semitism has by no means died out in Germany, and that there were still many unrepentant ex-Nazis who were unlikely ever to be converted.

## Louw's gesture

SOUTH AFRICAN political quarters,

## THIS IS YOUR WORLD

SECURITY, by Harry Howe Ransom, reviewer John M. Swomley, writing in *Fellowship*, says: "About 20 per cent of US intelligence is clandestine in nature, or espionage. By law, no information about budget, personnel, or salaries of the Central Intelligence Agency is published, but it is presumed there are at least 10,000 working for it. Hundreds of millions of dollars go into intelligence budgets.

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**SOUTH AFRICAN** political quarters, according to a *Guardian* correspondent, are speculating over the likely consequences of a significant admission in Parliament by Mr. Eric Louw, Minister of External Affairs.

"Throwing up his hands with a gesture of despair, he acknowledged that there was little likelihood of improving the Union's relationships with other States in Africa while the Union continued to pursue her present policy of apartheid. At the same time Mr. Louw made it clear that there was no question of the Nationalist Government changing its policies in any fundamental respect."

### America's spies

**IN** the course of a review of the book **CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AND NATIONAL**

**SECURITY**, by Harry Howe Ransom, reviewer John M. Swomley, writing in *Fellowship*, says: "About 20 per cent of US intelligence is clandestine in nature, or espionage. By law, no information about budget, personnel, or salaries of the Central Intelligence Agency is published, but it is presumed there are at least 10,000 working for it. . . . Hundreds of millions of dollars go into intelligence budgets."

"One US Senator in CIA confidence . . . has said that it 'almost chills the marrow of a man to hear about' the clandestine acts of CIA agents. These agents have political and vested interests as do others in government. . . . The author adds 'The growing band of professional intelligence experts in Washington, increasingly confident of their product, not unnaturally want to manage the intellectual process by which decisions are made.'"

## Note where the defence controversy belongs, Mr. Crossman!

**MR. RICHARD CROSSMAN**, Chairman of the Labour Party, holds the view that if Mr. Gaitskell could have brought himself to depart sufficiently from the Scarborough statement on arms that he had sponsored, and which was rejected, in order to agree to the proposals that Mr. Crossman's group had formulated in last week's discussions, "the defence problem would have been pushed into the background, where it belongs."

The differences between Mr. Crossman's statement and that which had the support of Mr. Gaitskell were not of major importance. They equally assumed that British policy must approve of the retention of the H-bomb by the USA and that Britain must remain in NATO so that it might be able to rely on the US "deterrent." Mr. Cousins' proposals, which did not differ in any essential particular from those of Mr. Crossman, made the same assumption.

Messrs. Crossman and Cousins would both "reform" NATO, but then so would Mr. Gaitskell. Whereas Mr. Cousins holds that the provision of nuclear bases, including depots for Polaris submarines, "cannot be supported," Mr. Crossman aims "to

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**A most unfortunate impression** was given, claims the Anti-Apartheid Movement in a letter to Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, by speeches purporting to have been made by the UN Secretary-General in Cape Town and Pondoland, expressing confidence in the future of the Union, and appreciation of White South Africa's care for brother Africans. The letter urges him to correct this impression.

end the need for American bases in Europe, including Britain," which is substantially the position of the Gaitskell statement, which also looks forward to the possibility "that within a few years Western defence

By

J. ALLEN SKINNER

will not require America to have strategic bases overseas."

The Gaitskell statement, equally with that of Mr. Crossman, holds that "Britain . . . should cease to attempt to remain an independent nuclear Power." Both statements declare that the West must not be the first to use the H-bomb. The single difference is that the Crossman statement (without being too explicit about it) seems also to reject "absolutely" the prior use of tactical nuclear weapons by the West, while the Gaitskell statement merely desiderates that the "aim" should be not to have the need to use them first.

There is sufficient of ambiguity in both statements that one would have thought that a mere trifle more of equivocation could have provided a suitable basis for the fulfilment of Mr. Crossman's purpose of

the risk of being subpoenaed to appear at a hearing in some far-off place, of being questioned with regard to every minute of his past life, of being asked to repeat all the gossip he may have heard about any of his friends and acquaintances, of being accused by the Committee of membership in the Communist Party, of being held up to the public as a subversive and traitor, of being jailed for contempt if he refuses to co-operate with the Committee in its probe of his mind and associations, and of being branded by his neighbours, employer, and erstwhile friends as a menace to society regardless of the outcome of the hearing."

The case is a timely reminder of the Big Brother society which is far nearer than many suppose. But it is also an indication of the supreme value of men like Mr. Wilkinson who stand up to this sort of cavalier treatment. A stand of this nature has repercussions out of all proportion to its size and demonstrates that truly we are not powerless, even if it is the power of the imprisoned.

relegating the problem of preparations for genocide to the background, "where it belongs."

Perhaps, however, the trouble is that Mr. Gaitskell does not hold the view that the present weapons policies of the Powers, which threaten the very existence of the human race, is a merely secondary matter which belongs in the background while the Party exults in a sense of unity over such matters of major importance as health service charges. And if this is what troubles Mr. Gaitskell, greatly as we disagree with his policy, we find ourselves in sympathy with him.

The preparations for war with the weapons of today provide overwhelmingly the most important problem that confronts us. It should not be pushed into the background and smothered in calculated vagueness. It should be faced squarely, and the fundamental opposition that exists in regard to it should be asserted and expressed politically.

Those of us who are pacifists must surely be feeling a sense of humiliation today that our work in the past has been of so little effect that this supremely important matter can be held to be something that can be set aside as of little consequence.

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## Non-violent resistance

THE anti-nuclear movement is now clearly launched on a new phase of non-violent resistance. The inauspicious opening of the new movement will have been wiped out by the impressive Whitehall demonstration. But one must protest strongly against certain statements made by spokesmen of the Committee of 100 to the effect that "we want to put the Government in the position of either jailing thousands of people or abdicating."

Now this is just dishonest. It is a form of blackmail, provoking the authorities to retaliate and then saying "Look what martyrs we are." The true object of non-violence, I take it, is to oppose some evil by symbolically resisting it. The classic case is when people lie down in the way of vehicles carrying troops—or H-bombs. Punishment may ensue, but it is not the main object, although it bears witness to the resisters' determination. They thus win public sympathy, whereas irresponsible lawlessness for its own sake only alienates it.

We in the anti-nuclear movement must clear our minds of muddled thinking. We are *not* a resistance movement in an occupied country. We are citizens of a country with a very high degree of personal freedom, which has however grown rusty from disuse. It is up to us to exercise to the full the almost unsuspected possibilities of this freedom. We are showing people that they have not got to lie down under abuses and wrongs; and this in itself may be one of our greatest achievements.

Nor is it primarily a case of "us" against "them." We are, each one of us, involved in a genuine conflict of conscience and of duty, in which the gap between the sympathetic member of the public who cannot go the whole way with us, and the campaigner with moments of doubt, is small. Ordinary people are tortured by agonising doubts and fears—which they thrust to the bottom of their minds.

A speaker of the Direct Action Committee has put it admirably: We must cure people as a doctor cures the mentally sick, by bringing these fears to the surface, and the best method is by dramatising their problems in a meaningful way. In other words, we reduce the situation to its essentials: ordinary people assert their natural rights by walking into a rocket site and reclaiming it for the farmers. In so doing, they act for those thousands who would do the same if they dared.

## Letters to the Editor

CHRISTOPHER FARLEY (PN, last week) is right in stating that Gandhi's strategy was to "set yourself an immediate objective and work for it" believing that "eventually the final objective will come within your grasp," but if his implication is that the present demonstrations against nuclear weapons come within that category then I would differ from him. Gandhi's final objective was clear to himself and equally clear to his followers; each demonstration was complete in itself, but the ultimate was Indian independence.

Now it may be that the "final objective" of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the Committee of 100 is the same as Christopher Farley's, i.e., "a civilisation worthy of men's highest aspirations," but it does not appear clearly that this is, in fact, their final objective, though it may well be that many of their supporters believe in that end.

I agree that "feeling, not reason, remains the basis of most convictions," but when the emotion is a feeling of fear, I can only say "more's the pity," for it is an unstable and often dangerous emotion.

I have to accept that Christopher Farley himself believes that progress is a matter of strategy and not of principles, though I fail to understand the meaning of the quotation in brackets, since it is surely not possible to define "principles" in terms of "I can demand more than you"? In any case, it is my view that progress must depend not only upon a well-thought-out strategy, but upon an agreement as to where you are going, which is the principle.—**SYBIL MORRISON, 6 Apollo Place, London, S.W.10.**

WHEN Richard Gregg visited the Peace Pledge Union in 1936 and introduced us to his book "The Power of Non-Violence" it was accepted theoretically as the Bible of the movement. It is interesting to note that the publication of a revised cheap edition coincides with the first attempt at civil disobedience in this country demonstrated by thousands of men and women many of whom are not pacifists.

To some this protest against nuclear weapons seems inconsistent and unwise, though this would be more understandable

member what George Fox's reply was to the man who wanted to join the early Quakers but asked if he could continue to wear a gun—"Wear it as long as you can."

Meanwhile a first or second reading of Gregg's book is of first importance whether we be pacifists who rejected it a quarter of a century ago or those who now mean to present the case against nuclear weapons by civil disobedience.—**WINIFRED CUMMINGS, St. Ives, Silver St., Braunton, Devon.**

### World Peace Brigade

MAY I make a comment which arises from your use of a photograph of the Gandhigram Shanti Sena with Vinoba's comments on our proposed World Peace Brigade? (PN, February 17.)

G. Ramachandran introduced his Shanti Sena corps at Gandhigram some ten years ago. It is comprised of students who are not necessarily committed to the non-violence they learn a great deal about while serving in the Corps. In addition to its educational function, the Shanti Sena also does give valuable service to Gandhigram and surrounding villages.

Much more recently, Vinoba launched the Bhoodan movement's Shanti Sena. Its members, scattered all over India, are deeply committed to non-violence. Vinoba is their "Commander-in-Chief" and Asha Devi their Convener.

Of course both Vinoba's well-publicised Shanti Sena and the Gandhigram corps were inspired by Gandhi, and seek to embody his ideas of what a peace brigade

should be. But there is no organisational connection between these quite different Shanti Senas.—**ARLO TATUM, Secretary, War Resisters' International, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex.**

### Moral values

GEOFFREY CARNALL suggests that the difference in moral behaviour between the nation and the individual is largely an illusion. The Sermon on the Mount is not taken literally in either case.

Yet to the State killing is perfectly valid and justifiable, while to the individual it is the greatest crime. The difference in moral standards really is of the utmost importance, because it is the degree of difference between the two that determines the extent of oppression exerted by any State on its subjects.

Dictatorships arise because the exigencies of State morality demand a maximum divergence from the values accepted by the individual. And the more deeply divided the two sets of values become, the more oppressive becomes the régime.

The morality of the State is imposed by thinking taking place in terms of a group while an individualised group is still tacitly considered to be a unit subject to the survival of the fittest; whereas in the case of the individual within the State, the physically weaker are protected. The one still relies on the laws of the jungle, while the other sees higher laws and applies them to some extent.

A perfect society can only arise when the two sets of values completely coincide. When this does happen, dictatorships and war will be obsolete.—**H. W. HEASON, Lake End House, Newstead Abbey Park, Linby, Notts.**

### 'VOICE OF NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT' ASKS

## Did you vote for the U-2?

From a recent VND broadcast:

THIS is the Voice of Nuclear Disarmament. When people talk about direct action—whether it's strikes, or demonstrations, or illegal broadcasts like this one—the Top People always start to invoke Democracy.

"Direct Action," they say, "isn't democratic—that sort of thing may be justified

professionals would attach to your "democratic" vote if somehow you did manage to outvote them.

The fact that there is a struggle now in the Labour Party to alter that is wholly due, I think it's fair to say, to the fact that people have started to vote with their feet, to talk about direct action, to demonstrate outside the frame of normal "politics."

So if sitting down in the road and get-



not go the whole way with us, and the campaigner with moments of doubt, is small. Ordinary people are tortured by agonising doubts and fears—which they thrust to the bottom of their minds.

A speaker of the Direct Action Committee has put it admirably: We must cure people as a doctor cures the mentally sick, by bringing these fears to the surface, and the best method is by dramatising their problems in a meaningful way. In other words, we reduce the situation to its essentials: ordinary people assert their natural rights by walking into a rocket site and reclaiming it for the farmers. In so doing, they act for those thousands who would do the same if they dared.

There is an impulse of sympathy among ordinary people at the sight of 88-year-old Bertrand Russell on the pavement, or of women and children marching miles in pouring rain. And in this warm flood of common humanity the icy crust of fear and inertia in people's hearts begins to melt.—**A. LODGE, 31 Swanley Lane, Swanley, Kent.**

**SOME** people in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament want it to pledge full support for civil disobedience. Others would like to push the actionists right out of the Campaign. But most of us, while wishing the Campaign to dissociate itself as a body from direct action—because we see certain dangers that may arise from it, and because we do not wish to alienate those who support the Campaign only if it keeps within the law—are nevertheless in active opposition to such action only in so far as it sets us quarrelling among ourselves.

We want the Campaign to welcome actionists, along with strict legalists, among its active members, provided that they restrict themselves to Campaign activities when acting on behalf of the Campaign, whether as national President or as group secretary in Little Crumbling. We know that opponents of the CND will do their best to confuse the public by trying to identify it with direct action, but this will halt our progress only if we start wrangling about it.

This majority view was adopted as policy by the 1960 CND Conference, but it has not been followed by the executive on the one hand, nor on the other by those who persuade whatever section of the CND they control to commit itself as a body to illegal action. These tactics will split the Campaign.—**S. W. GREEN, 6 Chalk Grove, Cambridge.**

going, which is the principle.—**SYBIL MORRISON, 6 Apollo Place, London, S.W.10.**

**WHEN** Richard Gregg visited the Peace Pledge Union in 1936 and introduced us to his book "The Power of Non-Violence" it was accepted theoretically as the Bible of the movement. It is interesting to note that the publication of a revised cheap edition coincides with the first attempt at civil disobedience in this country demonstrated by thousands of men and women many of whom are not pacifists.

To some this protest against nuclear weapons seems inconsistent and unwise, though this would be more understandable if pacifists were trained and united enough to take the initiative. Let us face it—the PPU was not ready for Richard Gregg's book, and one of the milder criticisms of that time was that we could not wait for people to be perfect—what we needed were big demonstrations against war and mass meetings in order to get more signatories to the pledge.

Alas, we know how many of those pledges, given on the spur of the emotional moment, were withdrawn in 1939. And despite a second fairly recent visit from Richard Gregg, it is doubtful if this generation of pacifists knows him or his book.

We are living in even more dangerous times now, and those who sincerely desire peace differ greatly and often bitterly in ways in which they think this will best be achieved. Of that first edition of Gregg's book *The Observer* said: "There is a candour and nobility about this book which compels respect"; and the *New Statesman* said: "The first serious examination of the possible use of mass non-resistance as a political weapon." Gerald Heard said then and now "Its importance is incalculable."

How many times in the Thirties did he beg us to remember that the moment when action is demanded of us we do not have time to think through the whole situation, and so we act according to our assumptions, our sentiments, and our habits. Hence, if we prefer a certain kind of action it is wise to prepare in advance the sentiments and habits that will produce that kind of action. But his words fell on deaf ears. We just were not equal to the effort.

In the coming months we shall go on differing, but to those who are alarmed about this experiment in civil disobedience and find it senseless unless it includes renunciation of all war, it might help to re-

## 'VOICE OF NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT' ASKS

# Did you vote for the U-2?

*From a recent VND broadcast:*

**THIS** is the Voice of Nuclear Disarmament. When people talk about direct action—whether it's strikes, or demonstrations, or illegal broadcasts like this one—the Top People always start to invoke Democracy.

"Direct Action," they say, "isn't democratic—that sort of thing may be justified in Communist countries where the people have no voice, but we don't need it here. The right way to influence policy is to vote." And, of course, they usually go on to advise you to vote for them.

Now if that's true, your vote ought to have been controlling several things that have happened recently. Just think back. Did you vote for, or against, the establishment of the Polaris bases here? Well, you were clever if you did either. They weren't in Super Mac's election programme—that was the gift at the bottom of the package.

## NO CHANCE

What about the U-2 plane that flew over Russia from a NATO base on the eve of the Conference? Did you vote for that decision, or against? You didn't get a chance; none of us did—probably not even Super Mac himself.

And when, next time there's a risk of peace breaking out, one of the missile submarines to which he's offered your hospitality goes and does the same thing again, well, you won't get a chance to vote about that either. You have no control over these policies. They're not even under the control of elected governments.

There's only one person with a vote that matters today—the chap in charge of the push button. He's got four minutes to make up his mind how he's going to vote—and there won't be any recount.

Four minutes isn't long. We have elections every five years. But if you'd wanted to vote effectively against these policies you couldn't have done so at any of the last three general elections, because the leaders of all three big parties were in collusion to see the issue wasn't raised.

And Mr. Gaitskell's attitude towards the Labour Party Conference decisions is a pretty good index of the weight the pro-

fessionals would attach to your "democratic" vote if somehow you did manage to outvote them.

The fact that there is a struggle now in the Labour Party to alter that is wholly due, I think it's fair to say, to the fact that people *have* started to vote with their feet, to talk about direct action, to demonstrate outside the frame of normal "politics."

So if sitting down in the road and getting arrested, or boarding submarines and getting wet, looks silly to you, or pointless, remember this: the people who are doing this long, troublesome, unpaid, inglorious job are taking up your democratic responsibilities; yours and mine—getting control back, out of the hands of the military experts and the television-politician-salesmen, into the hands where it belongs, the hands of people like you.

It can be done—and we mean to do it. So give us your support. If you can join in what we're doing—if, for example, you are willing to take part in non-violent demonstrations, in the fight against the bases, or just in talking about them, and about these broadcasts, use your vote—by doing that. It's the only vote you have.

This is the Voice of Nuclear Disarmament signing off.

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Trafalgar Square, February 18, 1961



photo: Roger Mayne

**YOU** aren't making a very good point by reminding us that atomic weapons have already been used. The dropping of the atomic bombs on Japan ended the war and saved the lives of many Allied soldiers.

DEBATE ON SURVIVAL—IV

By S. W. Green

## The balance of power theory

This fourth section of S. W. Green's eight-part debate covers

they are not influenced by argument or by the prospect of annihilation.

Provocation? But we aren't giving any provocation, and aren't likely to give any. Our only aim is to stop the aggressor and preserve peace.

We are supporting people who have other





photo: Roger Mayne

**YOU** aren't making a very good point by reminding us that atomic weapons have already been used. The dropping of the atomic bombs on Japan ended the war and saved the lives of many Allied soldiers.

The atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki were midjets compared with those we are now preparing to use, yet they killed many more people than all the molecular bombs that fell on Britain throughout the war. People are still dying from their effects.

The war would have ended quickly without this ghastly crime. Japan had already, through Russia, made approaches for peace terms. The Bomb could have been demonstrated over empty territory with equal effect on the end of the war, yet two large cities were chosen as its victims.

### BARBAROUS

As the Chief of Staff to the United States President, Admiral Leahy, said: "The use of this barbarous weapon at Hiroshima and Nagasaki was of no material assistance in our war against Japan. The Japanese were already defeated and ready to surrender. . . . My own feeling was that in being the first to use it we had adopted an ethical standard common to the barbarians of the Dark Ages."

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### DEBATE ON SURVIVAL—IV

By S. W. Green

## The balance of power theory

**This fourth section of S. W. Green's eight-part debate covers Hiroshima and the end of World War II, the theory of the balance of power, and current provocations.**

The Western Powers made haste to use this frightful weapon as soon as they had got it in order to prevent the Soviet Union from having any say in the Japanese settlement. Premier Churchill was at Potsdam with President Truman when news came of the successful test explosion at Alamogordo. "Babies satisfactorily born"—that was the message received. "The President and I," Sir Winston has written, "no longer felt we needed Stalin's aid to conquer Japan."

Asiatics look back on the atom-bombing of Japan as an unspeakable crime committed by White against Coloured people. It will come to be so regarded by the West as it recedes into history. It will be remembered where the devilish crime of the Nazis are forgotten.

*I repeat what I said—that in dragging up Hiroshima you have not made a good point. You see, it was only possible for America to use her atomic bombs because Japan hadn't got any. Where both sides have these terrible weapons they won't be used.*

### SENSELESS

*We regard nuclear weapons as an assurance of peace because they establish a balance of power. Our enemies won't dare to use them against us so long as we have them. It would be senseless folly for us to give them up before general disarmament is achieved.*

The balance of power has never kept the peace in the past. It cannot do so indefinitely in the future. Unless we adopt the genuine deterrent to war—the promotion of

trust between the nations—we shall sooner or later have a nuclear war.

*The balance of power that exists now is of a totally different order to anything that has existed in the past. The total explosive force of all the bombs released in World War II by both sides was about three megatons. Single bombs of several times this total force have now been tested.*

*I remember during the war being on an RAF airfield when great excitement arose among those of us who were in the know. Bombs of an unprecedented power were arriving to be loaded up. They were blockbusters of 20 tons. Now, in a few short years, we have produced bombs of a million times this force.*

### FOOLISH

*What the H-bomb has done, in effect, is to add infinity to both sides of an equation. Such an equation must represent stability, and it will continue to do so unless we're so foolish as to upset it by renouncing the H-bomb.*

If we were sure that reason was the sole guide to the conduct of international affairs we might have some confidence that the balance of nuclear terror would guarantee peace. But the balance is unstable. Fear is a most unreliable deterrent.

Security will not come through fear, but only through the growth of trust between the nations. An atmosphere of mutual suspicion cannot continue indefinitely without war. Provocation—real or imagined—can put men into such a frame of mind that

they are not influenced by argument or by the prospect of annihilation.

*Provocation? But we aren't giving any provocation, and aren't likely to give any. Our only aim is to stop the aggressor and preserve peace.*

We are supporting people who have other aims. Our friends in Germany refuse to recognise the Polish-German frontier, drawn by the Potsdam Agreement.

After the war, with the assent of the Allies, the Germans were driven out of what is now Western Poland and 6,000,000 Poles were settled there. (This was done to compensate the Poles for the loss of their Eastern territories, inhabited mainly by White Russians and Ukrainians, which Poland seized after World War I in disregard of Allied advice.)

### DEFEATIST

The people in power in West Germany hanker for the return of these "lost territories," as well as for the overthrow of Communism in Eastern Germany. Dr. Adenauer's first words after his appointment as Chancellor spoke of "liberating the East." "We are entering the European Army," he said later, "in order to recover our lost territories."

The West Germans are in no defeatist mood. Their Defence Minister has said: "The united forces of our allies are sufficient to wipe the Soviet empire from the map." The West German army—whose top commanders were all Nazi generals—is rapidly becoming the greatest military machine in Europe, and will soon number more than a third of a million.

A complete range of missiles is being supplied to this army, and it has already acquired, or has on order, more nuclear weapons than the British or French armies.

Here, then, is one situation from which provocation may arise. There are plenty of others. We have looked no further than Europe.

(To be continued.)



# Is domination the only way?

By Geoffrey Carnall

*Last week Geoffrey Carnall was looking at the nature of power and suggesting—with special reference to the police—that force is no substitute for public approval. Here he asks if there is any way of altering the old pattern of “dominate or submit.”*

IN the course of an article criticising the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (in the January number of *Encounter*), David Marquand rejects the idea that Britain's unilateral disarmament would have some kind of moral influence on other countries. Such an idea, he says, could only have occurred to people who hadn't really understood that Britain was no longer a Great Power. For “moral influence is simply a polite euphemism for power which is not actually used.”

I quote Mr. Marquand because his article happens to be handy on my desk, but my impression is that this passing comment is pretty typical of the prevailing outlook of those professionally concerned with politics. When writers in newspapers speak of “moral influence,” I often get the feeling that it is just a bit of uplift. They don't quite believe in it. When you get down to brass tacks—so the argument seems to run—you have to choose between domination and submission.

Certainly, under the conditions of nuclear stalemate, we may be led to pay more attention to the rôle of popular movements. Even the most ruthless government may realise that, in the long run, the political and military cost of sheer repression is prohibitive. But at most, these considerations would only lead to a modifying of the old pattern: dominate or submit.

Is any other way of running the world possible? Is it even conceivable?

## Behaviour

Some people would argue that *all* social behaviour can be resolved into self-assertion and submission. But this is rather an extreme view, and many would disagree with it. Lifemanship, the art of being one-up, is not the whole of life.

But how do we get on with people when we are not being one-up (or one-down)? How can one describe the nature of non-dominative relationships? Only in nega-

part of our experience which may help us in our peacemaking. The book was published 20 years ago: *THE IMPULSE TO DOMINATE*, by D. W. Harding.\*

One of the main ideas presented in this book is that there are two fundamentally different ways of responding to conflicts. One is the way of domination and submission, and the mixture of the two in compromise. The other is the way of “social integration.”

A dominative man knows what he wants, and is not going to change his ideas because someone else thinks differently. An “integrative” man also knows what he wants, but regards the encounter with other people who think differently as a chance to test out his original purpose. He is willing to change or modify his ideas if he becomes genuinely convinced of their inadequacy—and indeed expects to do so, for we all have a lot to learn.

## Opinions

This does not mean that one is doomed to flounder helplessly between conflicting opinions. As William Hazlitt put it in his essay on consistency of opinion, the main cause of unsteadiness of belief is the impertinent habit of excluding all the evidence that does not make for you.

“It stares you in the face with double force when it breaks in unexpectedly upon you. . . . But if you are aware from the first suggestion of a subject, either by subtlety of tact, or close attention, of the full force of what others possibly feel and think of it, you are not exposed to the same vacillation of opinion.”

Professor Harding was indebted to an American psychologist, Harold H. Ander-

beings, whereas the use of coercion, or such subtler forms of domination as appear when the emotions of shame and guilt are played on, stifles the creative process, annihilates originality.†

The crucial point is this: social integration, as Harding points out, “stands for a mode of handling divergencies of aim and opinion which is *totally* different from war and not just a more restrained form of the same dominative behaviour.”

Once the distinction is grasped, one may risk a new definition of pacifism, attractively clear-cut, though recklessly controversial. Pacifism, one might say, is a whole-hearted commitment to integrative behaviour. Dominative behaviour is tolerable only in such severely restricted forms as Gandhian civil disobedience, police power, and so on. (To believe that integrative behaviour is a good thing is not, of course, necessarily to make one a pacifist. Harding carefully explains that he isn't.)

## Language

Some readers may object that “integrative behaviours” is horrid jargon. It is, and the fact that this is so reveals how deeply our everyday language is committed to seeing life in terms of domination and submission.

Gandhi had to draw upon Sanskrit in order to find an adequate positive word for non-violence: *satyagraha*. We can translate it “truth-firmness,” which again sounds like jargon. And this, it must be insisted, is not because integrative behaviour does not occur, but because we are not in the habit of noticing it.

“Look at the newspapers,” says Harding, “or listen to scraps of conversation in the street, and observe how much more interested we are in dispute and conflict.” This bias towards domination finds its natural conclusion in war.

In addition to discussing the main issue of how we may relinquish domination, *THE IMPULSE TO DOMINATE* includes some illuminating chapters on different aspects of the problem of war.

There is a fine account of the working of public opinion in the chapter “Securing

Acquiescence.” It can be recommended to anyone who wants to keep his balance in the current struggle for the soul of the Labour Party on defence.

And the book is full of unobtrusively discerning remarks, as I have come to realise in the course of reading and re-reading it over the past 15 years. We could all afford to remind ourselves occasionally, for example, that “visibility in the political and economic world is never very good, and we must expect all classes and professions to people the mist with spectral shapes thrown on to it from infancy.”

## Solutions

No pacifist, in short, should fail to read and absorb *THE IMPULSE TO DOMINATE*. It lays a firm foundation for thinking about peace, and suggests, I think, what disarmament is primarily about: a commitment of our national resources to inventing solutions to the massive conflicts of interest that harass mankind.

A non-pacifist could reasonably argue that such a commitment would be foolhardy. But to claim that disarmament is merely surrender is much less reasonable. The fact that people find such assertions plausible is a symptom of our obsession with the war system.

Harding's dissent from the pacifists is based on the impossibility of avoiding either resistance or submission in some situations. Certainly the pattern of domination and submission is all too well established, and has to be taken into account. How can we most effectively break into the vicious circle of dominative behaviour? This question will be considered next week in a final article.

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## Behaviour

Some people would argue that *all* social behaviour can be resolved into self-assertion and submission. But this is rather an extreme view, and many would disagree with it. Lifemanship, the art of being one-up, is not the whole of life.

But how do we get on with people when we are not being one-up (or one-down)? How can one describe the nature of non-dominative relationships? Only in negative terms? No—the character of spontaneous, loving behaviour is discussed in the work of a number of psychologists, some of them (like Erich Fromm and Karl Menninger) fairly well known to the instructed pacifist.

I want to mention a book which is not so well known, whose special value is that it helps one to focus more steadily on that

essay on consistency of opinion, the main cause of unsteadiness of belief is the impertinent habit of excluding all the evidence that does not make for you.

"It stares you in the face with double force when it breaks in unexpectedly upon you. . . . But if you are aware from the first suggestion of a subject, either by subtlety of tact, or close attention, of the full force of what others possibly feel and think of it, you are not exposed to the same vacillation of opinion."

Professor Harding was indebted to an American psychologist, Harold H. Anderson, for the distinction between dominative and integrative behaviour. Anderson in turn developed it from the ideas of a mediator in labour disputes, Mary P. Follett. She found that in the free interplay of differences, in the confronting of disagreements, it was possible to *invent* solutions to problems which at first seemed insoluble.

This approach underlies much work in industrial psychology over the past 40 years. It is commonly recognised that there is a lot more to a strike than the issue which sparks it off, and that in tackling, say, defective communication between management and the shop floor, a solution may be found which will meet the needs of both parties to the dispute.

## Conflicts

This is in no way to deny that conflicts may be extremely intractable, and rooted deeply in our social system. But it does mean that the way out of conflict is seen through attending to the question "Why are they behaving like this?" rather than to the question "What can we do to put them in their place?"

If you act dominatively yourself, you will tend to make other people act in the same way. They will resist, or perhaps submit. Anderson insists that the opposite is equally true: integrative behaviour itself induces integrative behaviour in others. To listen to another, to try to understand and learn from him, tends to make that other willing to listen, understand, and learn.

Integrative behaviour makes the fullest use of the varied experience of human

\*Allen and Unwin, 1941. It is out of print, but there has been some talk of its being revised and reprinted as a paperback.

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\*See *CREATIVITY AND ITS CULTIVATION*, ed. by H. H. Anderson, Harper, \$5.

## FULL TIME

The Reds, the Reds,  
damn their eyes  
that's where the blasted mischief lies

Got to be strong, see,  
rot 'em in Hell if they start.  
Like Hungary?

That's it mate, you cotton on quick,  
Charlie, the meat sauce  
can you trust 'em  
can you?

Now these 'ere missiles  
not very nice,  
but it's a rotten world, see,  
and it's a wage  
Full time, mate  
Full time

The West, the West  
damn their eyes  
that's where the blasted mischief lies  
bases all round us  
bombers in the air  
they've done it once.  
Hiroshima?  
That's it Tovarich, they wouldn't think  
twice  
Ilyushin, the pork pie  
can you trust 'em  
can you?

It's full time  
full time  
full

Suki, Suki, hold my hand.  
They're playing cards!

HAROLD HYATT

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## Negro leaders for civil rights

THE Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which is headed by Rev. Martin Luther King, has announced that it is joining forces with the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee to train Negro leaders for the civil rights struggle.

Instruction in citizenship is being provided by Highlander staff, and a Conference member will teach the techniques of non-violent resistance to discrimination and segregation.

Highlander Folk School has been operating under White liberal leadership for 28 years. Claude Sitton, writing from Atlanta in the *New York Times*, says: "Highlander's charter was revoked by a state court in February, 1960, but it has continued to operate, pending the outcome of an appeal.

"The revocation grew out of a legislative investigation in which it was charged that Communists and their sympathisers had visited and lectured there. The legal action against the school was based on charges that it had violated segregation and alcoholic beverages laws.

### QUESTIONS

"Nevertheless, some observers said the affiliation of Dr. King's organisation with Highlander raised serious questions of prestige for the Conference. They contended that because of the delicacy of the racial problem and Highlander's controversial status, it would be difficult now for southern Whites of liberal or moderate per-

*Military chiefs turning Clydeside into a huge arsenal*

# LABOUR, TRADES UNIONS AND CLERGY DENOUNCE PROTEUS

From John Connell

Glasgow

TENSION HAS BEEN GROWING ON THE CLYDESIDE SINCE LAST WEEK WHEN NEWS WAS RECEIVED THAT PROTEUS HAD LEFT AMERICA AND WAS DUE TO ARRIVE HERE IN THE HOLY LOCH TODAY (FRIDAY).

The authorities have made arrangements to receive the mother ship of

Polaris submarines. There is to be a large press conference on board the Proteus at 10.45 and a civic reception has been arranged for the crew at Dunoon.

However, local misgivings about the arrival of these submarines are now very considerable. The Scottish Council of the Labour Party and the Scottish Trades Union Congress have both denounced the agreement to have the base here in the Holy Loch. Twelve ministers of the church have signed a declaration that reliance on nuclear weapons is a denial of the Christian Faith. They pledged themselves to work unceasingly for the renunciation of nuclear weapons by Great Britain.

### Supporters

Ardent supporters of Polaris are beginning to realise the appalling nature of these preparations. The Clyde Estuary is getting on a war footing reminiscent of the last war and the military chiefs are rapidly making one of the most beautiful and peaceful looking parts of Scotland into a huge arsenal.

This prospect has stirred the conscience of all those in Scotland who have a deep love for their country. The Scottish CND have drawn up a letter expressing their complete opposition to the establishment of the base. This letter will be delivered to the captain of the Proteus.

A motorcade will leave Glasgow about noon tomorrow for the port of Gourock and then cross the Clyde by steamer to Dunoon. Judith Hart, MP, is expected to

be the principal speaker at two protest meetings which will be held on Saturday afternoon.

The Scottish Trades Union Congress has called a meeting to discuss the Polaris issue at Rothesay (which is within the shadow of the US naval units) and there is a determination to win support for a demand that there must be a decisive change in the policy which permits the establishment of these bases in the country.

Meanwhile civil disobedience has spread north from London to Glasgow. Two young Englishmen, Pat Farrer and Gordon Collins, entered the American Consulate for an interview. Permission was not given and they informed the official they would wait until permission was given.

They were arrested and have refused to plead in court. Both have been remanded in custody until March 23 and have stated they will not co-operate with the prison authorities from the day the Proteus arrives.

The situation here on the Clydeside is approaching a position where many people will be prepared to resist Polaris whatever the personal consequences.

## Volunteers for the Holy Loch

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

TO date there are twelve volunteers to march all the way from Trafalgar Square to the Holy Loch from Easter Monday to Whitsun, in the 540-mile walk being organised by the Direct Action Committee.

### SCIENTISTS BACK TEST BAN TALKS

A group of American scientists are recommending that a report published on Tuesday by the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy should be carefully studied by President Kennedy and his Administration. The report argues that the US Government should not set a definite time limit for the achievement of a treaty banning nuclear tests. A decision to resume tests would have repercussions "which could only be likened in importance to the original decision to drop the atomic bomb."

## London vigil for Sharpeville victims

A VIGIL to remind the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference of the 72 people who died in South Africa at Sharpeville and Langa last March will be maintained outside Lancaster House in London for 72 hours, from midnight on March 7 to midnight March 10.

Organised by the Anti-Apartheid Movement, the vigil will be supported by volunteers, six at a time, in two-hour shifts.

### BIG PUBLICITY FOR



investigation in which it was charged that Communists and their sympathisers had visited and lectured there. The legal action against the school was based on charges that it had violated segregation and alcoholic beverages laws.

## QUESTIONS

"Nevertheless, some observers said the affiliation of Dr. King's organisation with Highlander raised serious questions of prestige for the Conference. They contended that because of the delicacy of the racial problem and Highlander's controversial status, it would be difficult now for southern Whites of liberal or moderate persuasion to deal with the Conference.

"James E. Wood, administrative assistant to Dr. King, said the Conference was aware of the problem. But he asserted: 'We find no reason not to co-operate with any organisation that is interested in the development of full citizenship for Americans which cannot be proved to have conducted itself in a manner which is not American or patriotic.'"

It is now announced that the Highlander case for appeal against the revocation of its charter will be heard by the Tennessee State Supreme Court on March 7.

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Organised by the Anti-Apartheid Movement, the vigil will be supported by volunteers, six at a time, in two-hour shifts. Volunteers include Barbara Castle, MP, Alderman Ted Castle, Fenner Brockway, MP, Sir Leslie and Lady Plummer, Jeremy Thorpe, MP, Tom Driberg, MP, Ritchie Calder, Anthony Greenwood, MP, Percy Belcher, Vera Brittain, Father John Groser, the Bishop of Woolwich, Lady Summerskill, Anthony Wedgwood Benn and Frank Allaun, MP.

The response has been rapid and satisfactory, the most difficult watches to fill being those from 6 to 8 a.m. and 8 to 10 a.m. on the mornings of March 8 and 9.

## We tried to stop the Proteus sailing

### FROM PAGE ONE

was successfully blocked away from the action by the Navy launches. But one of its crew, Ken Meister, ran from the pier with the news.

The almost completed Everyman was flung into the almost freezing water, an operation complicated by floating blocks of ice. Ed Guerard jumped aboard, shouting to Susan Hoffman to follow, but the craft didn't wait long enough for her to make it. Ed paddled frantically towards the Proteus which was now in midstream. But Navy launches soon interfered. A contest of non-violence versus force had been joined.

Everyman was captured by the US Navy. Ed dived overboard into the almost freezing water. The crew of the launch tried to catch him with their boathooks, but finally had to commit their frogman. The man, even with his protective suit and elegant gear, was reluctant to enter the water. But by doing so he almost certainly saved Ed's

life. While he helped Ed into the launch (after nearly 10 minutes in the water) Ed apologised for this imposition on him.

In this rescue operation the Navy deserves great praise. They were extremely considerate of Ed and went to great lengths to prevent any injury to him. They also quickly returned Everyman, and apologised for having illegally blocked the raft's progress.

We were certainly not successful in preventing the sailing of the Proteus. But it was a protest that *had* to be made with every effort and using every resource we had. And there was one very powerful positive effect of this demonstration.

The sailors and officers of the Navy were all deeply affected by the courage and limitless conviction of Ed Guerard in doing what he did with full knowledge of the pain and the hazard involved. Perhaps a few may begin to understand, even to share, a human concern for humanity.

We have told our Navy friends on the Proteus and the Washington that you people will give them our greeting when they arrive in Scotland.

This prospect has stirred the conscience of all those in Scotland who have a deep love for their country. The Scottish CND have drawn up a letter expressing their complete opposition to the establishment of the base. This letter will be delivered to the captain of the Proteus.

A motorcade will leave Glasgow about noon tomorrow for the port of Gourock and then cross the Clyde by steamer to Dunoon. Judith Hart, MP, is expected to

## BIG PUBLICITY FOR RATES REFUSER

BAILIFFS recovered fourpence from Mr. William Stephenson, who is secretary of the Newbury Group of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, on February 15.

They were acting on a warrant issued by County magistrates after Mr. Stephenson had refused to pay the fourpence of his rates which represented the cost of Civil Defence.

During the court hearing pamphlets were handed out at the door saying: "Nuclear Disarmament is the only effective Civil Defence."

The protest against what Mr. Stephenson described as "The Civil Defence Fraud" gained publicity in *The Times*, *The Guardian*, the Newbury and Reading local weekly papers, BBC (sound) West Region, BBC TV West and South, Southern ITV, and the BBC Overseas Service. This broadcast was heard by the daughter of a member of the local CND committee.

## Briefly

The Proteus which arrives in Scotland today (Friday) is carrying her complete complement of 954 officers and men, according to a Washington report in *The Times*.

The trial of Adolf Eichmann is to open in Jerusalem on April 11 at the decision of the president of the district court of Jerusalem, Judge B. Halevy.

The Theodore Roosevelt, the latest U.S. Polaris missile submarine, was commissioned at Mare Island, California, on February 14.

## Volunteers for the Holy Loch

### PEACE NEWS REPORTER

TO date there are twelve volunteers to march all the way from Trafalgar Square to the Holy Loch from Easter Monday to Whitsun, in the 540-mile walk being organised by the Direct Action Committee.

The Committee has at its disposal for its protest 14 canoes and two larger boats. Two of the canoes will be towed the whole journey, after making their initial public appearance on the marches to London from Aldermaston and Wethersfield.

### APPEAL

Offers would be appreciated of a van and a driver, either together or from separate sources, to accompany the march; and the Committee is still appealing for money, boats, people to join the group which will march all the way, people in large numbers to swell the march in their own localities, and people in even larger numbers to join the non-violent demonstrations at the Holy Loch, both ashore and afloat.

Two London meetings for briefing will be held on March 18. The first, for sea demonstrators, at Student Movement House, 103 Gower Street, W.C.1, at 2.30 p.m.; and the second, for marchers, at the Friends' International Centre, 32 Tavistock Square, W.C.1, at 7.30 p.m.

The Direct Action Committee has its office at 344 Seven Sisters Road, London, N.4. (STAmford Hill 7062.)

## piano recital REGINALD TRISTAM

Bach, Beethoven, Chopin, Bartok

Sunday, March 5th 8.15 p.m.

FRIENDS' HOUSE, EUSTON RD., N.W.1

Collection Society of Friends

"I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another"

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to PPU Headquarters

DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE

6 Endsleigh Street

London, W.C.1



## CROSSMAN AND THE BOMB

J. Allen Skinner looks at R. H. S. Crossman's role in Labour's current policy statement

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# BACK HOME

**IT IS PERFECTLY OBVIOUS THAT SCOTLAND—AND INDEED THE WHOLE WORLD—WOULD BE MUCH SAFER IF THE PROTEUS AND ALL POLARIS SUBMARINES QUIETLY SANK WITHOUT TRACE, TAKING THEIR DEADLY NUCLEAR MISSILES DOWN WITH THEM.**

## Last U.S. attempt to stop sailing

From G. S. CHRISTIANSEN

New London

ON Tuesday of last week, at about 2 p.m., the Proteus sailed from New London, Connecticut, for Scotland. The Committee for Non-violent Action's demonstration was hampered by fog, rain, cold, the secrecy of the US Navy, and earlier "losses" in their non-violent protest resources.

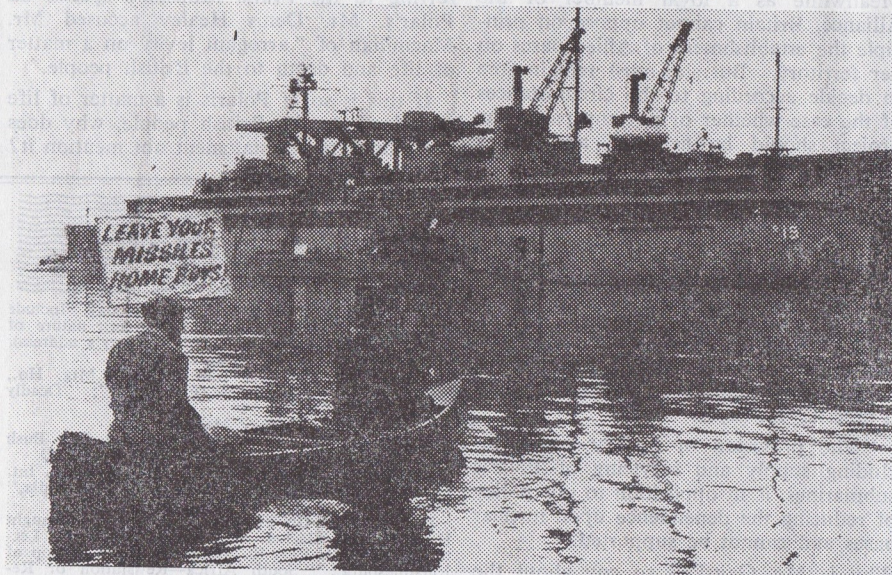
At our first demonstration on January 28 our two most versatile civilly disobedient members, Don Martin and Bill Henry, as well as 60 per cent of our fleet (the dinghy Leo Tolstoy, the rowboat World Citizen, and the raft Bertrand Russell) were captured. Don is still in Federal prison, Bill is still at large and helping manfully, but is restricted by his promise to violate no laws concerning naval vessels.

On Friday, February 17, our best information, which later proved erroneous, was that the Proteus would sail on the Sunday. Plans were made for a continuous water vigil starting Saturday morning, and daylight picketing on the access road to the State Pier at which the Proteus was tied. Ed Guerard and Susan Hoffman (Susan is just back from walking the first 1,000 miles of the San Francisco to Moscow walk) agreed to attempt civil disobedience in blocking the sailing of the Proteus.

★

At 8.30 on the Saturday night the Navy captured the row boat Henry David Thoreau while it was keeping vigil afloat. Bob Swann and Harry Purvis, its crew, were released. We decided to commit our last remaining boat, the canoe Ahimsa, but to avoid situations where the Navy could capture it prematurely, and to begin work hastily on another raft.

Sea and land vigils were maintained all day Sunday and most of Sunday night. On Monday Ed Guerard worked on the new



The depot-ship Proteus, with the Polaris submarine George Washington alongside, just before they sailed from New London, Connecticut. Demonstrators in the canoe were keeping a water vigil. See story, left.

Perfectly obvious, that is, to everyone who is not conditioned by balances of power which never balance and arms races which always end in senseless slaughter.

The submarines, however, will not be spirited away. It is only by massive and sustained protest that the monstrous work arranged for the base at the Holy Loch can be terminated, the Polaris agreement reversed, and the whole fabric of the Cold War challenged.

Or as *The Times'* Washington correspondent put it last week: "A reversal at this stage would have encouraged militant neutralists all over the world to campaign against bases, and would have brought about considerable disillusionment here."

The second factor, *The Times'* man continued, why the decision to send the Proteus to Scotland was confirmed, "is that the entire missile programme is being accelerated . . ."

A Proteus sent home would, in fact, help to break down the myth that the world is neatly divided into devils and angels—and that the reasonable way to meet this situation is to prepare for a nuclear war that would obliterate our civilisation.

### LABOUR'S NEW POLICY STATEMENT

## Why no mention of Polaris, Mr. Gaitskell?

THE Parliamentary Labour Party is regarded by Mr. Gaitskell—very much as Mr. Balfour is said to have regarded the House of Lords—as his pet poodle.

There, for the time being, he has a comfortable majority which he can rely upon to swallow all his recommendations and whose members can be relied upon to shout "vote, vote" when he thinks it advisable that a discussion should be ended.

So as everybody expected, the latest policy statement approved of by Mr. Gaitskell was carried by a comfortable majority after about three hours' discussion.

they deserve? Hardly, for the figures of the voting show that usually only half the Parliamentary Labour Party turns up. The statements are rushed through after one short session and they are never referred for detailed consideration to the Defence Committee or its sub-committees which usually meet to consider the annual Navy, Army and Air Force Estimates.

In fact, the Parliamentary Labour Party spends less time considering these policy

policy statement than the Leeds City Council does to a proposal for a new slaughter house.

So the rank and file should not assume that because the Parliamentary Party, with a considerable number of members missing, has approved the latest Gaitskell policy, that this is a sound reason why they should swallow it too. There is every reason why the rank and file should examine it very carefully and with the attention that it

... asks EMRYS HUGHES, MP